

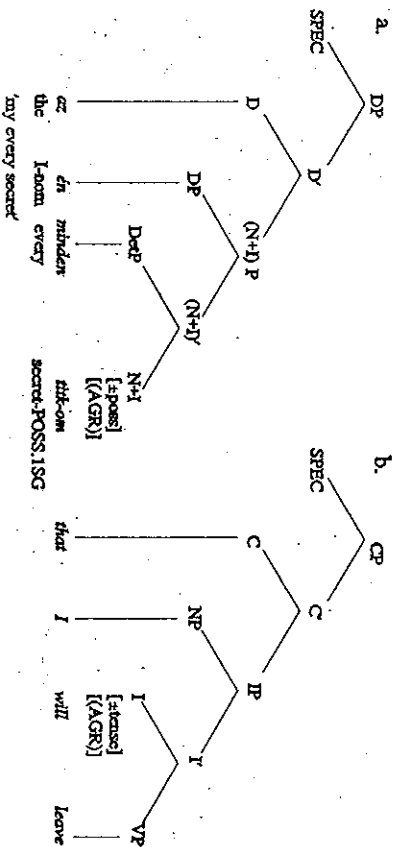
SUBORDINATION: ARTICLES AND COMPLEMENTIZERS

ANNA SZABOLCSI

1. Introduction

In a series of papers I have argued that Hungarian noun phrases have a clause-like structure. Within the framework of Chomsky (1986), it can be represented as (1a). Compare (1b), the structure attributed to English clauses: DP is parallel to CP, and (N+I)P to IP. As a minor point of deviation, I am assuming that the inflected noun, N+I, forms a complex head.

(1)



I. Kenesei & Cs. Pléh (eds.), *Approaches to Hungarian*, Vol. 4: *The Structure of Hungarian*,
 IATE, Szeged, 1992.

The motivation for this analysis comes from two main sources: the behavior of the possessor and the behavior of the article. Hungarian possessors behave like subjects of (configurational) clauses. They bear nominative case, they trigger person-number agreement on the possessed noun, and they extract in two steps, using the phrase initial [Spec,DP] position as an escape hatch:

(2)

- a. *Kindódot* *l*_{NP} *l*_P a [_{N+DP} *Péter* [_{N+DP} *t*_{ik-a}]]]]
 came-to-light the Peter(-NOM) secret-POSS.3SG-NOM
 'Peter's secret came to light.'
- b. **Péter*_i *húddott* *ki* *l*_{NP} *l*_P a [_{N+DP} *t*_i [_{N+DP} *t*_{ik-a}]]]]
 Peter(-NOM) came-to-light the secret-POSS.3SG-NOM
 'It is Peter whose secret came to light.'
- c. *Kindódot* *l*_{NP} *Péter-nek* *l*_P a [_{N+DP} *t*_i [_{N+DP} *t*_{ik-a}]]]]
 came-to-light Peter-DAT the secret-POSS.3SG-NOM
 'Peter's secret came to light.'
- d. *Péter-nek*_i *húddott* *ki* *l*_{NP} *t*_i *l*_P a [_{N+DP} *t*_i [_{N+DP} *t*_{ik-a}]]]]
 Peter-DAT came-to-light the secret-POSS.3SG-NOM
 'It is Peter whose secret came to light.'

In this paper I focus on the other aspect of the clausal analogy, namely, the claim that the article, which I placed under category D, is the analog of the complementizer, C.

First, I argue that the article (*a/t*) 'definite' or *0* 'indefinite') must be distinguished from quantifiers, for instance, because they occupy different positions and may even co-occur, as in (1a). This means that the article needs to be attributed a function distinct from that of quantifiers — a problem for all current syntactic and semantic theories.

Second, to solve this problem I propose that the article is the analog of the complementizer, and its function is subordination: it enables the noun phrase to act as a theta-role bearing argument.

Third, I will address the question of why Hungarian makes the above functional distinction between articles and quantifiers, while many other languages, including English, do not. Relying on Bhatt and Yoon's (1992) proposal, I suggest that this parallels the distinction that Hungarian, but not English, makes between two types of complementizers: subordinators and clause-type indicators.

2. Two categories of determiners: D and Det

The items corresponding to the broad category of determiners split into two main groups in Hungarian:

ARTICLES AND COMPLEMENTIZERS

- (3) *D* precedes the nominative possessor:
a(z) 'the', *o* '(a)n), some', *ez a(z)* 'this', *az a(z)* 'that'
- (4) *Det* follows the nominative possessor):
minden 'every', *e, eme, ezen* 'this', *azon* 'that', *mindék* 'which', *keves* 'few',
sok 'many', *egy(ik)* 'one', *valamennyi* 'each', *bármelyik* 'either', *semelyik* 'neither',
 etc.

Some comments are in order concerning the membership of the classes *D* and *Det*.

(i) The category *Det* is heterogeneous: in addition to quantifiers and demonstratives, I listed certain numerals here. Moreover, in Section 3 I will assign even the phonetically empty [\pm definite] and [\pm specific] features to this category. Whether *Det* is to be split into various subcategories is immaterial to my present concerns.

(ii) I listed *egy* 'one' only among *Dets*, although the traditional assumption is that its stressed variant is a numeral and its unstressed variant is an article. My decision had two kinds of motivation. One, the linear position of *egy* is always like that of *Dets*:

- (5)
- | | | | | | |
|----|----------|-------------------------|------------------|------------------|-----------------|
| a. | <i>a</i> | <i>!*</i> <i>minden</i> | <i>*egy(ik)</i> | <i>te</i> | <i>tikod</i> |
| | | the | /every/ | <i>you(-NOM)</i> | secret-POSS.2SG |
| b. | <i>a</i> | <i>te</i> | <i>minden</i> | <i>/egy(ik)/</i> | <i>*a</i> |
| | | the | <i>you(-NOM)</i> | /one/ | <i>*the</i> |
| | | | | | secret-POSS.2SG |

Two, whether *egy* is stressed or not is predictable from whether it is in focus or not, wherefore the two variants need not be assigned to two different categories.

(iii) The complex demonstratives *ez a(z)* 'this the = this' and *az a(z)* 'that the = that' are simply listed under *D*, although the restrictive and the non-restrictive versions presumably have different structures. In the restrictive version, where *ez/az* is stressed, *ez/az* may occupy the [Spec,DP] position (cf. Kenesei (1988)). On the other hand, in the unstressed non-restrictive version *ez/az a(z)* seems like one complex *D*. Since the dative-marked possessor is in [Spec,DP], the above analysis will explain why the restrictive version cannot form a constituent with it, while the non-restrictive version can.

- (6)
- a. **En csak* [_{DP} Péternek „*ez* [_{DP} a [_{N+NP} javaslakát]] támadom, azt nem.
 'It is only THIS proposal of Peter's that I am attacking; THAT one I am not.'
- b. *En csak* [_{DP} Péternek [_{DP} erre a [_{N+NP} javaslataira]] akartam felhívni a figyelmét.
 'All I wanted was to draw attention to this proposal of Peter's.'

With these in mind, let us turn to the positions of D and Det. I first briefly justify the claim that their positions are distinct and can even be filled simultaneously.

The claim that the possessive construction is introduced by an article that is not part of the nominative possessor may be surprising. Evidence that there are cases which can only be analyzed in this way comes from two kinds of data, to be reviewed below. This justifies the structure assumed in (1a). In other cases the article appears at the beginning of the possessive construction only if it is indeed part of the pronominal possessor; these cases will be accounted for with reference to haplology, see (14).

Personal pronouns do not have an article of their own, but as possessors they are obligatorily preceded by an article:

- (7)
- | | | | | | | |
|----|-----|----------|--------------|----|----------|--------------|
| a. | az | én | kalap-om | b. | *én | kalap-om |
| | the | I(-NOM) | hat-POSS.1SG | | I(-NOM) | hat-POSS.1SG |
| | | 'my hat' | | | 'my hat' | |

- (8)
- | | | | | | | |
|----|-----|------------|-----------|----|------------|-----------|
| a. | *Az | én | isz-om. | b. | Én | iszom. |
| | the | I(-NOM) | drink-1SG | | I(-NOM) | drink-1SG |
| | | 'I drink.' | | | 'I drink?' | |

Essentially the same behavior is exhibited by names of persons in the Upper Tisza and Debrecen dialects, documented in Simonyi (1914), Magda Szabó's novel *Fesztűs* (1958), and Magda Szabó (p.c.). The (*) in (9b) indicates that this form is not ungrammatical but it is not the usual form in this dialect:

- (9)
- | | | | | | | |
|----|-----|--------------|--------------|----|--------------|--------------|
| a. | a | János | kalap-ja | b. | (*)János | kalap-ja |
| | the | John(-NOM) | hat-POSS.3SG | | John(-NOM) | hat-POSS.3SG |
| | | 'John's hat' | | | 'John's hat' | |
- (10)
- | | | | | | | |
|----|-----|---------------|-----------|----|---------------|-----------|
| a. | *A | János | isz-ik | b. | János | isz-ik |
| | the | John(-NOM) | drink-3SG | | John(-NOM) | drink-3SG |
| | | 'John drinks' | | | 'John drinks' | |

These data make it necessary to acknowledge an article that belongs to the whole of the possessive construction and not to the nominative possessor. The occurrence of Dets following the nominative possessor is uncontroversial.

ARTICLES AND COMPLEMENTIZERS

The next step is to observe that D and Det do not only occupy two different linear positions but may also co-occur. I am aware of two independent constructions in which they surface simultaneously. One is the possessive construction itself. When the nominative possessor is overt, the article may co-occur with any of the Dets:

- (11)
- a. az én ezen állítás-om
 the I(-NOM) this claim-POSS.1SG
 'this claim of mine'
- b. *az ezen állítás-om
 the this claim-POSS.1SG

- (12)
- a. a Janka minden étel-e (Upper Tisza)
 the Janka(-NOM) every dish-POSS.3SG

- b. *a minden étel-e
 the every dish-POSS.3SG

The other relevant construction is the one with a prenominal participial modifier, e.g., *létel kapott* 'received from you'. This may either immediately precede the head noun (here: *levél* 'letter'), as in (13a), or it may be separated from it by a Det (here: *valamennyi* 'each'), as in (13b). In the latter case, however, an article appears obligatorily.

- (13)
- a. Valamennyi [létel kapott] levél rövid volt.
 each from-2SG received letter(-NOM) short was
 'Each letter received from you was short.'
- b. A [létel kapott] valamennyi levél rövid volt.
 the from-2SG received each letter(-NOM) short was
 'idem'
- c. *A valamennyi [létel kapott] levél rövid volt.
 the each from-2SG received letter(-NOM) short was
- d. *Tétel kapott] valamennyi levél rövid volt.
 from-2SG received each letter short was

It is therefore convenient to assume that an article is underlyingly present in all cases, but its surface realization is restricted. The emergent generalization is as follows:

(14) Haplogy

- a. The co-occurrence of D and Det is grammatical if they are linearly separated by some intervener.
 b. Contiguous strings of the type *D Det*, or *DD*, are ungrammatical. Ungrammaticality can be eliminated either by deleting *a(t)* of D in Phonetic Form, or by moving the constituent that contains Det or the second D.

This rule requires that the *D Det* or *DD* string be eliminated regardless whether both items are related to the same head noun or to different head nouns. This is borne out by the examples in (15)-(17). In analogy to (11) and (13b), I assume that *minden fiú* 'every boy' derives from **a minden fiú* 'the every boy' via article deletion, as in (15). Deletion is indicated by #. In (16) *minden fiú* appears as a possessor. In (16c) the outer D is deleted because it would be adjacent to *minden*. (16d) represents the alternative of moving *minden fiú* to [Spec,DP] and leaving the outer D intact. Notice that if the possessed noun had a Det, as in (17), possessor movement would result in a *D Det* sequence, triggering D-deletion again:

- (15) *a minden fiú # minden fiú
 the every boy every boy.

- (16) a. [_{DP} [_{DP} a [_{NP} a minden fiú] kalap-ja]] ⇒ (b,c) or (b,d)
 the the every boy(-NOM) hat-POSS.3SG
 b. [_{DP} [_{DP} a [_{NP} # minden fiú] kalap-ja]]
 the the every boy(-NOM) hat-POSS.3SG
 c. [_{DP} [_{DP} # [_{NP} # minden fiú] kalap-ja]]
 every boy(-NOM) hat-POSS.3SG
 d. [_{DP} [_{NP} # minden fiú-nak]_{DP} a t_i kalap-ja]]
 every boy(-DAT) the hat-POSS.3SG
 'every boy's hat'

- (17) a. [_{DP} [_{DP} a [_{NP} a minden fiú] minden kalap-ja]] ⇒ (b) or (c,d)
 the the every boy(-NOM) every hat-POSS.3SG
 b. [_{DP} [_{DP} # [_{NP} # minden fiú] minden kalap-ja]]
 every boy(-NOM) every hat-POSS.3SG
 c. [_{DP} [_{NP} # minden fiú-nak]_{DP} a t_i minden kalap-ja]]
 every boy(-DAT) the every hat-POSS.3SG
 d. [_{DP} [_{DP} # minden fiú-nak]_{DP} # t_i minden kalap-ja]]
 every boy(-DAT) every hat-POSS.3SG
 'every boy's every hat'

An extremely similar case of haplology is quoted in Abney (1987); the Papago rule seems to differ from the Hungarian one only in that the second, not the first, element of the offending string undergoes deletion. Haplology is discussed from a more general perspective in Miller (1992).

- (18)
- | | | | | | | | |
|----|-------------------|---------|-----------|-----------|----|-------------------|---------------------|
| a. | *'am | [g | miisa] | weco | | | (Papago, from Hale) |
| | the | the | table | undemeath | | | |
| b. | 'am | [miisa] | weco | undemeath | | | |
| | the | table | undemeath | | | | |
| | 'under the table' | | | | | | |
| | | | | | c. | 'am | weco |
| | | | | | | the | undemeath |
| | | | | | | 'under the table' | |
| | | | | | | | [g |
| | | | | | | | miisa] |
| | | | | | | | the |
| | | | | | | | table |

e may now ask why the *D D* and *D Det* sequences are excluded. I have no explanation to offer, but I suspect the reason may not be a very deep one. This is corroborated by the fact that some such sequences occur even in English. I am grateful to Andrew Radford for the following piece of data:

- (19) (He has to endure) the every whim of Mrs. Thatcher.

Furthermore, similar sequences occur in Modern Greek, Korean, and Japanese, for instance (I owe the data to G. Agouraki, J-W. Chang, K. Ohta, and T. Sano).

- (20)
- | | | | | | | | | |
|----|---------------|-------|--|--|----|----------------------|-------|-------|
| a. | kathe | pedhi | | | b. | to | kathe | pedhi |
| | every | child | | | | the | every | child |
| | 'every child' | | | | | 'every single child' | | |
- (21)
- | | | | | | | | | |
|----|--------------------|--------|--|--|----|----------------------|-------|--------|
| a. | motun | salan | | | b. | i/ku | motun | salan |
| | every | person | | | | this/the | every | person |
| | 'people (generic)' | | | | | 'all the(se) people' | | |
- (22)
- | | | | | | | |
|-----|-------|--------|-----|--------|-----|------|
| so | no | watasi | no | subete | no | hon |
| the | GEN | I | GEN | every | GEN | book |
| 'my | every | book' | | | | |

3. C and D as subordinators

In the preceding section I argued that two categories of determiners, D and Det, need to be distinguished, on the basis of the fact that they occupy different positions and even co-occur. The significance of these data can be seen when we consider the interpretation of determiners in current semantic theories.

In Montague Grammar and Generalized Quantifier Theory, all determiners play the same role: they are interpreted as functions from noun denotations to noun phrase denotations (or, equivalently, they bind the external argument place of the noun). The Hungarian data are problematic for this approach because a noun cannot be "doubly determined" in its sense, whence either D or Det must have some different role. The data suggest that Dets play the traditional role, and D needs an as yet unrecognized role.

In Discourse Representation Theories determiners do not play the same role. The articles (together, presumably, with the demonstratives) contribute to the creation of noun phrases that are interpreted as familiar or novel discourse referents (familiarity corresponds to definiteness, and novelty to indefiniteness). Quantifiers, on the other hand, are interpreted as global instructions for the construction of discourse representations. As the bifurcation is reminiscent of the D versus Det distinction, this approach may look more promising, but the Hungarian data are equally problematic for it. The reason is that quantified noun phrases are not assumed to have corresponding discourse referents that could be called familiar or novel. Thus no interpretation can be assigned to 'the every N' using standard assumptions.

In view of these observations our task is to find a role for the article that is distinct from that of quantifiers in the broad sense. The first clue comes from the analysis of possessor extraction. As (2) indicates, the syntactic position of $a(\bar{t})$ makes it very natural to assign it to a functional category that is analogous to the complementizer C in that its Spec position serves as an escape hatch for extraction. This is the assumption expressed in (1a).

The critical question to be answered now is whether we can attribute analogous functions to D and C. Following Szabolcsi (1986, 1987) the suggestion is as follows (the proposal will be refined below):

- (23)
- a. Only phrases in the canonical argument format can function as arguments of theta-role assigning heads.
 - b. Both the complementizer and the article are "subordinators" in the sense that they enable the clause or noun phrase to act as arguments.

There are general syntactic considerations that lend some plausibility to the claim that arguments in the above sense come with a subordinator. First consider what categories, besides noun phrases, are assigned thematic roles. In terms of Chomsky (1981), they are embedded finite clauses, infinitival clauses, and small clauses. Embedded finite and infinitival clauses are standardly assumed to have a complementizer, whether overt or phonetically null. Small clauses are a misfit because they do not have a complementizer but require a thematic role. However, Stowell (1990) argues that they in fact undergo

ARTICLES AND COMPLEMENTIZERS

restructuring, at S-structure or at LF. He proposes that this is forced by a principle like (24a) or (24b):

- (24)
- a. A predicative category may not function as an argument.
 - b. Only a referential category may function as an argument.

On this proposal, small clauses no longer constitute an exception. Matrix clauses, on the other hand, are not arguments and do not tend to have a complementizer. Do they have a counterpart among noun phrases? As was pointed out in Szabolcsi (1986, 1987), vocatives can be regarded as „matrix noun phrases” and they do not tend to have articles, either. Consider:

(25) *That John left

(26)

- | | |
|---|--|
| a. Der Peter kommt.
'The Peter comes.' | b. Jön a Péter.
comes the Peter(-NOM) |
|---|--|

(27)

- | | |
|--|---|
| a. (*Der) Peter, komni!
'Peter, come' | b. (*A) Péter, gyere!
the Peter come-IMP.2SG |
|--|---|

Related facts are discussed in Longobardi (1990), who proposes that vocative *Gianni mio* 'John my' differs from argumental *il mio Gianni* 'the my John' in that *Gianni* undergoes N-to-D movement. For some reason, no similar movement into D is possible in Hungarian:

(28)

- | | | |
|---|--------|---------------------------------|
| a. Kicsi János!
little John
'Little John' | versus | b. *János kicsi!
John little |
|---|--------|---------------------------------|

The syntactic aspects settled, what can be the canonical argument format in semantic terms?

(29)

- a. In Montague Grammar terms, all argumental clauses denote propositions, and all argumental noun phrases denote generalized quantifiers.
- b. In Discourse Representation terms, all argumental phrases have a discourse referent corresponding to them.

Propositions are sets of possible worlds; generalized quantifiers are sets of properties. Groenendijk and Stokhof's (1982) proposal to analyze the S—S' (i.e., IP—C') transition as in (30); Szabolcsi (1986, 1987) proposed to analyze the (N+D)P—D' transition as in (31):

- (30)
- a. Mary walks, IP = walk(a)(m)
 where *a* is a variable over possible worlds
- b. that Mary walks, C' = $\lambda a[\text{walk}(a)(m)]$
- c. whether Mary walks, C' = $\lambda i[\text{walk}(a)(m) = \text{walk}(i)(m)]$
 where *i* is a variable over possible worlds

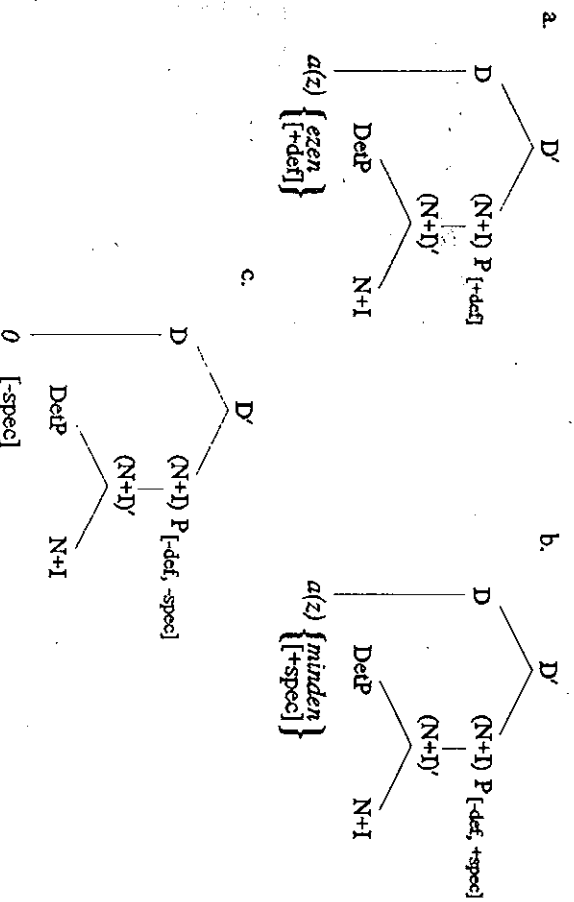
- (31)
- a. minden ember, (N+D)P = $\forall x[\text{man}(x) \rightarrow P(x)]$
- b. a minden ember, D' = $\lambda P \forall x[\text{man}(x) \rightarrow P(x)]$

According to these analyses, IP and (N+D)P each contain a free variable: a world variable and a property variable, respectively. In matrix clauses and in vocatives these remain free. (In particular, vocatives are interpreted as tiny sentences containing a free VP-variable, which I find very reasonable.) The subordinators are now seen as syncategorematic lambda-operators that serve to close off these open expressions by binding their free variables.

As regards DRT, I wish to suggest that the existence of a variety of anaphoric relations quantifiers enter into — cf. E-type anaphora and related phenomena — can be seen as motivation for establishing discourse referents even for quantifiers. Group referents as in Kálmán (1990) are a possible candidate. If this approach is correct, then we can say that subordinators create canonical arguments by serving as, or marking the existence of, discourse referents. Providing a detailed proposal goes beyond the scope of this paper, however.

Returning to noun phrase internal affairs, this proposal implies that the article in Hungarian has a mere subordinating function. Crucially, the definite article is not responsible for the definiteness of the noun phrase, it is merely selected in agreement with the content of (N+D)P, and similarly for the indefinite article. For instance, if (N+D)P contains a Det like *ezen* 'this', the definite article will be selected. But what happens when there is no overt Det within (N+D)P? I propose that in this case the features [+definite], [-definite, +specific] or [-specific] occupy the DetP position; on specificity, see Szabolcsi (1983) and current literature. The first two of these trigger the selection of "definite" *a(z)* in D, whereas the third triggers the selection of "indefinite" *o*.

(32)



To ensure the derivation of the correct surface forms, the following additional assumption is made concerning these features:¹

(33)

- a. If N+I is non-possessive, (N+I)P can only be specific in the presence of an overt numeral or Det;
- b. The feature [+spec] is a „visible Det” for (14), hence triggers *a(z)* deletion in Phonetic Form;
- c. The feature [+def] is not a „visible Det,” hence does not trigger *a(z)*-deletion.

¹I am glossing over a number of subtle descriptive points here: (i) whether proper names surface with or without an article depends both on the dialect and on the type of name, and (ii) the haplology rule would need to be refined in order not to exclude *a minden könyvet elolvadó ember* ‘the every book-ACC reading man = the man who reads every book’. For some reason, *D Det* is fully acceptable when the second element of the sequence belongs to a pronominal participial clause. See Kormai (1985) and Szabolcsi (1986) for some discussion.

4. Subordinator conflation: parametric variation

There are at least two puzzling facts that remain to be explained by the above proposal. The first is that although matrix clauses and vocatives do not "tend to" have complementizers and articles, respectively, in some languages they do. For instance ((34) is Korean and (35) is Romanian):

- (34) John-i wa-ss-ta
John-NOM come-PAST-DECL
'John came'

- (35) Frate-le meu!
brother-the my
'my brother [vocative]'

These data are in conflict with the claim that articles and complementizers are subordinators.

The second puzzling fact is that while articles and quantifiers or demonstratives can co-occur in Hungarian and, to a more restricted extent, in some other languages (cf. (20)-(22)), in many other languages they cannot. Why is that so, if articles have a distinct subordinator role of their own?

I wish to suggest that while these data certainly call for a refinement of the proposals made in the previous sections, they can be accommodated in a coherent way and thus provide further support for the proposals.

Bhatt and Yoon (1992) argue that items broadly classified cross-linguistically as complementizers have two distinct functions: to serve as subordinators and to indicate clause-type. In languages like English these two functions are lexicalized in a single morpheme. In many languages with robust agglutinative morphology, however, these are carried by two separate morphemes. They cite the following Korean paradigm, for instance:

- (36)
- | | | | |
|----|----------|--------------------|------------------------|
| a. | John-i | wa-ss-ta | |
| | John-NOM | come-PAST-DECL | |
| b. | Bill-un | [John-i | sayngkakhhan-ta |
| | Bill-TOP | John-NOM | come-PAST-DECL-SUB |
| | | | thinks-DECL |
| c. | John-i | wa-ss-ni? | |
| | John-NOM | come-PAST-INTERROG | |
| d. | Bill-un | [John-i | mwuless-ta |
| | Bill-TOP | John-NOM | come-PAST-INTERROG-SUB |
| | | | asked-DECL |

ARTICLES AND COMPLEMENTIZERS

Some further languages that they claim exhibit the same property are Japanese, Kashmiri, and Hungarian. To wit, the Hungarian morpheme *hogy* 'that' co-occurs with both question words and the interrogative particle *-e* in embedded clauses. *-E* is also possible in matrix questions (it is in complementary distribution with question intonation):

(37)

- a. Nem tudom, *hogy hol van* János.
 not know-1SG SUB where is John(-NOM)
 'I don't know where John is.'
- b. Nem tudom, *hogy megjött-e* János.
 not know-1SG SUB came-INTERROG John(-NOM)
 'I don't know whether John has arrived.'
- c. *Mejött-e* János?
 came-INTERROG John(-NOM)
 'Has John arrived?'

(*-ä*, the equivalent of *-e* in strictly SOV Ob-Ugic languages, is a clause-final particle. I assume that *-e* cliticized onto V during the SOV period of Hungarian, and moved along with it when V ceased to be final.)

Bhatt and Yoon's observations offer the following solutions to our puzzles. First, only those complementizers are not expected to appear in matrix clauses that are either pure subordinators or conflate the subordinator and the clause-type indicator functions. If a complementizer is a pure clause-type indicator, there is nothing strange about its appearance in a matrix context.

Second, it seems reasonable to look upon determiners as having two functions: that of a subordinator and that of a quantifier/demonstrative, the latter being a natural counterpart of clause-type indication. These two functions can also be either conflated or lexicalized separately. I submit that languages like English typically conflate these two functions, whereas Hungarian systematically lexicalizes them as separate morphemes: the Hungarian article is indeed a pure subordinator. If these assumptions are tenable, then the fact that the exact details of the analysis of Hungarian noun phrases do not carry over to, say, English, does not speak against the plausibility of the analysis. On the contrary, it can be seen as a matter of parametric variation.

It is interesting to observe that Hungarian has a pure subordinator both at the clausal and at the noun phrase levels. Let us recall now from Section 2 that Korean and Japanese allow for the co-occurrence of certain articles/demonstratives and quantifiers; and these languages also have separate subordinating and clause-type indicating complementizers. Thus, we may risk the following:

ANNA SZABOLCSI

- (38) Conjecture:
There is a correlation between clause-level and noun-phrase level subordinator conflation in a language.

The verification of this conjecture requires much further empirical research. One factor that makes (38) somewhat difficult to check is that agglutinating SOV languages which, according to Bhatt and Yoon, typically have distinct subordinating and clause-type indicating complementizers, often lack an article. (The Hungarian article is a relatively late development, too.) Note, though, that while languages tend to be cross-categorially consistent, there is no theoretical necessity for (38) to be true. Thus Bhatt and Yoon's analysis of complementizers and my analysis of determiners may well be maintained even if (38) does not turn out to be correct.

ARTICLES AND COMPLEMENTIZERS

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